

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

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XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 EPG-02 SIL-01 OMB-01 IO-13

DHA-02 ACDA-07 MC-02 /120 W

-----128564 291922Z /44

R 291743Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9477

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 10897

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY: USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, PGOV, ZA, GW

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT KAUNDA VISITS THE FRG: A WRAP-UP

SUMMARY: ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA PAID A WORKING VISIT TO BONN FROM JUNE 3-6, WHILE ENROUTE TO THE COMMON-WEALTH CONFERENCE IN LONDON. HE MET FOR PRIVATE TALKS WITH PRESIDENT SCHEEL, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION SCHLEI, SPD CHAIRMAN BRANDT AND OTHERS. KAUNDA'S COMMENTS TO ALL INDICATED HIS UNDIMINISHED DESIRE FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THE WEST MUST COME UP WITH SOME FIRM ACTION TO COMPEL SOUTH AFRICA TO MODIFY ITS POSITION. THE FRG WILL INCREASE ITS CAPITAL AID PROGRAM TO ZAMBIA FOR 1977 BY DM 10 MILLION FOR A TOTAL OF DM 80 MILLION. THE FRG ALSO PLEDGED DM 1 MILLION FOR AID TO REFUGEES IN ZIMBABWE.END SUMMARY

1. KAUNDA'S WORKING VISIT TO THE FRG (JUNE 3-6) HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY VARIOUS FRG OFFICIALS AS USEFUL BUT UNEVENTFUL. KAUNDA'S ARRIVAL WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A SPATE OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES RECOUNTING HIS INTEREST IN MEDIATING THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONFLICT AND SPECULATING ON THE DANGER THAT HE TOO HAD SLIPPED INTO THE CAMP OF THOSE ADVOCATING THE USE OF VIOLENCE IN SOLVING THE AREA'S PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, AS ONE FONOFF SOURCE POINTED OUT, THE PRESS COMMENTARIES WERE IN MANY WAYS MORE INTERESTING THAN THE VISIT ITSELF.

2. AFTER THE ARRIVAL ON JUNE 3, KAUNDA AND HIS PARTY WERE HOSTED BY PRESIDENT SCHEEL AT A WORKING LUNCHEON. SCHEEL'S WELCOMING SPEECH, HIGHLY COMPLIMENTARY OF KAUNDA PERSONALLY, RESTATED THE FRG'S SUPPORT OF THE RIGHT OF SELF- DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA, CONDEMNED ALL VIOLATIONS OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ADVOCATED THE END OF RACISM AND APARTHEID IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE ALSO WARNED AGAINST THE GENERAL DANGERS OF VIOLENT CONFRONTATION AND NOTED THE FRG'S OPPOSITION TO INTERFERENCE BY FOREIGN POWERS IN INTERNAL AFRICAN AFFAIRS. KAUNDA'S REPLY WAS A MODEL OF MODERATION. HE PRAISED WESTERN EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA THROUGH THE CAPE TOWN TALKS AND FOCUSED ON WHAT HE PERCEIVED AS CONFIDENTIAL

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THE MORAL OBLIGATION OF THE WEST AND THE FRG IN PARTICULAR TO BRING THE CRISIS IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA TO A SUCCESSFUL AND PEACEFUL CONCLUSION. WESTERN EFFORTS, HE NOTED SADLY, WERE PERHAPS TOO LATE. THESE THEMES EXPOUNDED BY SCHEEL AND KAUNDA CAME UP TIME AND TIME AGAIN THROUGHOUT THE VISIT. (COMMENT: IN HIS SPEECH, KAUNDA STUDIOUSLY AVOIDED ANY MENTION OF THE U.S., REFERRING INSTEAD TO THE FRG AND ITS "EUROPEAN FRIENDS." END COMMENT.)

3. IN PRIVATE TALKS LATER WITH PRESIDENT SCHEEL, KAUNDA AGREED THAT THERE WERE NO OUTSTANDING BILATERAL PROBLEMS. THE CONVERSATION FOCUSED INSTEAD ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ZAMBIA'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. ACCORDING TO KAUNDA, THE DANGER OF RACIAL WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS CONSTANTLY GROWING. HE RECOGNIZED WESTERN GOODWILL BUT FEARED THAT THE WEST WAS DOING TOO LITTLE TO SUPPORT ITS PHILOSOPHY WITH CONCRETE ACTIONS. LOOKING TO ZIMBABWE, KAUNDA EMPHASIZED THAT IF THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY WAS EFFECTED QUICKLY ENOUGH, THERE REMAINED A CHANCE FOR WHITE RESIDENTS TO REMAIN UNMOLESTED AND TO BECOME AN INTEGRAL

PART OF THAT COUNTRY'S FUTURE. IF, HOWEVER, SMITH
CONTINUED TO BE INTRANSIGENT, AN OIL EMBARGO BY WESTERN
POWERS WOULD BE REQUIRED TO BRING HIM TO HIS KNEES.
KAUNDA BELIEVED THE CAPE TOWN TALKS HAD REALIZED SOME
DEFINITE PROGRESS BUT WARNED THAT IF THEY SHOULD FAIL

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-----128669 291923Z /44

R 291743Z JUN 77
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TO BRING ABOUT AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO NAMIBIAN
INDEPENDENCE, BLACK AFRICANS WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE ON
WHICH SIDE TO FIGHT. KAUNDA ARGUED THAT THE WEST MUST
CONTINUE TO EXERT PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA TO DO AWAY
WITH ITS POLICY OF APARTHEID. KAUNDA MAINTAINED THAT
ZAMBIA MUST REMAIN A NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY AND IT SHOULD
NOT BE ACCUSED OF ABANDONING THIS NON-ALIGNMENT IF IT
LOOKED TO THE EAST BLOC FOR MATERIAL NECESSARY
FOR ITS MISSION OF LIBERATION, SINCE THE WEST WOULD NOT

SUPPLY THIS KIND OF SUPPORT. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE,
KAUNDA EXPLAINED THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF STABLE COPPER
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PRICES TO THE ZAMBIAN ECONOMY. HE SAID THAT AFTER THE
"FAILURE" OF THE PARIS TALKS, ZAMBIA WOULD BE COMPELLED
TO PURSUE THE SOLUTIONS TO HER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
BILATERALLY.

4. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER ALSO MET PRIVATELY
WITH KAUNDA, IN ADDITION TO THE TWO DISCUSSIONS HE
HELD WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE. ACCORDING TO OUR
FONOFF CONTACTS, THE GENSCHER-KAUNDA TALKS PARALLELED
KAUNDA'S EARLIER TALKS WITH SCHEEL. IN MEETING WITH
MWALE, GENSCHER EXPLAINED THE FRG'S DESIRE THAT
TENSIONS IN EUROPE NOT BE SUPERIMPOSED ON THE AFRICAN
SCENE. MWALE RESPONDED THAT THE ZAMBIAN LEADERSHIP
VIEWED APARTHEID AS AN INTERNAL PROBLEM OF SOUTH
AFRICA; THE REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS NOT ILLEGAL BUT
SIMPLY IMMORAL. AMIN'S GOVERNMENT WAS PROBABLY WORSE.
MWALE SAID THAT MONDALE'S WARNING TO VORSTER WAS
VIEWED FROM LUSAKA AS NOTICE THAT SOUTH AFRICA CANNOT
EXPECT WESTERN HELP IF IT DOES NOT ALTER ITS ATTITUDE
TOWARD APARTHEID AND DESCRIBED PODGORNÝ'S VISIT TO
ZAMBIA AS CONFIRMATION OF ZAMBIA'S NON-ALIGNED POLICY.

5. KAUNDA ALSO MET FOR OVER TWO HOURS OF PRIVATE
TALKS WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. KAUNDA TOLD THE
CHANCELLOR THAT WESTERN POLICY OF NOT SUPPLYING ARMS
TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD ABANDONED THE FIELD TO THE SOVIET
UNION AND ITS FRIENDS. IF THE WEST IS TO COMPETE
UNDER THESE RESTRAINTS, IT MUST USE ITS POLITICAL AND
MORAL PRESSURE TO ELIMINATE THE ROOT CAUSES OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN CRISIS: APARTHEID. KAUNDA COMMENDED THE
WEST FOR ITS EFFORTS AT CAPE TOWN AND ADDED THAT
HE HAD YEARS AGO WARNED VORSTER OF THE EXPLOSIVE
POTENTIAL OF THE ENTIRE SITUATION. KAUNDA ALSO OUT-
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LINED THE SHAKY STATUS OF THE ZAMBIAN ECONOMY
EMPHASIZING THE DELETERIOUS EFFECTS OF LOW COPPER
PRICES AND BLOCKED TRANSPORTATION ROUTES. HE SAID HE
HAD ASKED FOR AID FROM THE EC (AMOUNT UNSPECIFIED),
AND FLOATED THE POSSIBILITY THAT ZAMBIA MIGHT SECURE
LOANS FROM THE FRG WITH ITS COPPER RESERVES.
SCHMIDT NOTED THAT GOLD RESERVES HAD BEEN ACCEPTED AS

SECURITY IN THE CASE OF PORTUGAL AND THAT HE HAD CONSIDERED THE ACCEPTANCE OF OTHER MATERIALS BUT THAT THE BUNDESTAG WOULD NOT ACCEPT THIS ALTERNATIVE. THE LAW WOULD HAVE TO BE CHANGED. KAUNDA CALLED FOR ADDITIONAL PRIVATE GERMAN INVESTMENT IN ZAMBIA AND PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AD HOC COMMISSION TO ENCOURAGE SUCH PRIVATE INVESTMENT. (COMMENT: ACCORDING TO AN ECONOMICS MINISTRY SOURCE, PRIVATE GERMAN INVESTMENT IN ZAMBIA IS VIRTUALLY NIL. END COMMENT.) SCHMIDT TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO STATE CATEGORICALLY THAT THE FRG WAS DELIVERING NO ARMS TO RHODESIA, NAMIBIA OR SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT ATTACKS IN THE UN ON THE FRG WERE THEREFORE UNFOUNDED. HE DIRECTED KAUNDA'S ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION INDEED SENDS WEAPONS TO THESE AREAS BUT NOT DEVELOPMENT AID. HE CONTINUED POINTEDLY, IN CLASSIC SCHMIDT STYLE, THAT IN SPITE OF ALL THE EVIDENCE, IT WAS THE WEST, NOT THE SOVIETS, WHICH WERE BEING CRITICIZED IN PARIS AND OTHER FORA FOR NOT PROVIDING ENOUGH DEVELOPMENT AID TO THE LDC'S. SCHMIDT ALSO TOLD KAUNDA OF HIS INTENTION TO CLOSE THE FRG CONSULATE IN WINDHOEK AND RE-ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH ANGOLA. KAUNDA SAID HE HAD RECENTLY ANNOUNCED THE NAME OF HIS AMBASSADOR TO ANGOLA BUT HAD RECEIVED AS YET NO ANSWER. HE OBSERVED THAT WHILE THE MISSING ALVES APPEARED TO BE PRO-SOVIET, NETO SEEMED TO BE MORE OPEN TO THE WEST. PATIENCE, HE SAID, WAS NEEDED IN ANY DEALINGS WITH ANGOLA THESE DAYS.

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6. IN A SHORT EXCHANGE WITH THE PRESS AFTER THE MEETING, CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT RE-AFFIRMED THE FRG'S SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE AND FREE ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA WITH PARTICIPATION OF ALL POLITICAL

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FORCES (INCLUDING SWAPO). HE CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICY AS "BLATANT VIOLATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS." HE ACCEPTED KAUNDA'S INVITATION (ALSO EXTENDED TO PRESIDENT SCHEEL) TO VISIT ZAMBIA AT AN UNDETERMINED FUTURE DATE.

7. IN THE TOUR D'HORIZON WITH MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION MARIA SCHLEI, WHOM HE HAD RECENTLY MET IN LUSAKA, (SEE BONN 6670), KAUNDA COVERED THE SAME GROUND AS IN HIS PREVIOUS TALKS. SCHLEI WAS ABLE TO TELL HIM THAT THE FRG WILL INCREASE
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ITS CAPITAL AID PROGRAM TO ZAMBIA FOR THE YEAR 1977 BY DM 10 MILLION TO A TOTAL OF DM 80 MILLION. ONLY DM 19 MILLION OF THIS AMOUNT IS TIED TO PROCUREMENT OF GOODS IN THE FRG. THE FRG'S TWO-YEAR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WILL ALSO BE INCREASED FROM DM 3 MILLION TO DM 6.5 MILLION. (SEE BONN 05078). IN ADDITION TO THE AID INCREASES FOR ZAMBIA ITSELF, THE FRG HAS PLEDGED DM 1 MILLION FOR DISTRIBUTION BY ZAMBIA TO ZIMBABWE REFUGEES. THE FRG WILL ALSO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE UNHCR IN ZAMBIA IN DEVELOPING A PLAN TO BETTER THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR ZIMBABWE REFUGEES.

8. ALTHOUGH KAUNDA DID NOT RAISE THE SUBJECT OF ZAMBIA'S 200 MILLION DOLLAR BALANCE OF PAYMENT DEFICIT IN HIS TALKS WITH MINISTER SCHLEI (BRUSSELS 05715), THE ZAMBIAN MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND DEVELOPMENT MULEMBA DID DO SO IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH WORKING LEVEL OFFICIALS. MULEMBA POINTED OUT THAT THE INSTABILITY OF COPPER PRICES HAS CAUSED A SERIOUS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM FOR ZAMBIA AND CAUTIONED THAT WITHOUT A TRADE IMPROVEMENT, THE SUBSEQUENT LOSS OF EMPLOYMENT WOULD WEAKEN KAUNDA'S POLITICAL HOLD ON THE COUNTRY. THE FRG RESPONDED THAT, SINCE THE RESULTS OF CIEC WERE STILL PENDING, IT DID NOT WISH TO ENTER INTO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT AT THE TIME. HOWEVER, MULEMBA SAID THAT HE WOULD RETURN TO THE FRG IN THREE WEEKS TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH BUNDESBANK OFFICIALS AND THE KFW REGARDING FINANCIAL GUARANTEES. THE FRG IS NATURALLY CONCERNED ABOUT ZAMBIA'S COPPER PROBLEMS DUE TO THE FACT THAT 40 PERCENT OF THE FRG'S COPPER IMPORTS COME FROM ZAMBIA.

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9. COMMENT: KAUNDA'S VISIT BROKE NO NEW GROUND; ITS PRIMARY IMPORTANCE WAS THAT IT CONTINUED THE FRG'S DIALOGUE WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES. CONTACTS IN THE ZAMBIAN EMBASSY TELL US KAUNDA WAS VERY PLEASED WITH HIS TALKS IN BONN. EFFECTIVELY, HE WAS ONLY IN BONN FOR TWO DAYS, SINCE HE SPENT THE WEEKEND OF JUNE 4-5 RELAXING IN BADEN WURTEMBERG. THEY POINTED OUT THAT THE REST HE RECEIVED WAS MOST NECESSARY SINCE HE WAS NOTICEABLY TIRED BY THE END OF HIS LONDON STAY. AN EXHAUSTING SCHEDULE IN BONN MAY HAVE BEEN TOO MUCH. STOESEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC COOPERATION, VISITS, MEETINGS
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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 29-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BONN10897
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770232-0785
Format: TEL
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977069/aaaaaher.tel
Line Count: 370
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 509bb784-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2272838
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESIDENT KAUNDA VISITS THE FRG: A WRAP-UP SUMMARY: ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA PAID A WORKING VISIT TO BONN FROM JUNE 3-6, WHILE ENROUTE TO THE COMMON
TAGS: PDEV, PGOV, ZA, GE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/509bb784-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009